

tend to decide. I am acquainted with many ardent friends of the oppressed in both divisions of the Covenanted Church, and as far as my acquaintance extends, I feel that I have no authority to exalt one above the other in zeal, and devotion, and self-denial for the promotion of our righteous enterprise. 'H. C. H.' may be a 'discerner of spirits,' and I have data upon which to base his opinions that I do not possess.

There are other things in the letter of 'H. C. H.' which I verily believe to be false, but as they are of minor importance to those I have already noticed, and as I have already protracted my communication beyond my original design, I will not now stop to comment upon them. Though I declare unhesitatingly, that the letter of 'H. C. H.' is studied with manifest malice. I do not wish to be understood as charging him with a design to falsify. His imagination is too active for a naturally sluggish judgment, and his impulses too strong to allow him time to direct his steps. He thus occasionally plunges into falsehood, without intending to do so, and struggles on from fiction to fiction, with a deep perception and a heated brain, unconscious of his true situation.

Sincerely hoping that the wisdom which should accompany the gray hair may yet be his, and that his actions may hereafter rival the goodness of his intentions, I subscribe myself,

W. H. BURLEIGH.

Letter from GERRIT SMITH.

Petersboro, May 18, 1840.

My Dear Sir:—Owing to my absence from home, it was not until this date, that I saw the Liberator of 8th inst. Four columns of it are devoted to the exhibition of my bad reasoning, character, and inconsistencies. So far as they have the effect to convict me of the first of these faults, I do not complain of them. But their misrepresentations pain me: and I ask you, for your own sake, as well as mine, to do the justice of correcting them.

The first column is an attempt to convince your readers, that I am a very changeable, and grossly and glaringly inconsistent in my views on the subject of 'political action.' This attempt would have been futile, had you stated the fact, that in my letter of 8th February last to the editor of the Friend of Man, I published my change of mind on an important point, and gave my reasons for the change. Until a few weeks before, I held you, and your investigation system, to be preferred to 'independent nominations.' But recent occurrences in Congress, in the N. Y. Legislature, and elsewhere, obliged me to give up all my confidence in the fidelity to abolition principles of persons elected by the pro-slavery parties; and to take the ground, that abolitionists can not safely vote for any party, or election candidates. I put it to your candor—is it fair, for the purpose of fastening the charge of inconsistency on me, to draw a contrast between the language I used on the subject of abolition political action before the avowed change referred to, and that which I used afterwards? If my language before that change was inconsistent with my present position, a string of extracts from my anti-wine-drinking speeches? He would not. He would do me an injustice similar to that you have done me. Were you, for the purpose of involving me in self-contradiction, to contrast my anti-colonization with my pro-colonization writings, you would be but following up your present mode of showing my inconsistencies. My reasons for changing 'the investigation system' and commencing independent political action to such abolitionists as choose to vote, may have been insufficient to justify the change. So may have been my reasons for the change in my temperance speeches. But I can see no propriety in stigmatizing me as inconsistent in my views on the subjects of temperance and political action. Since hearing how contentious, boisterous and disgraceful was the late anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I have come to the conclusion, that the benefits our anti-slavery organization yields, are not an adequate recompense for the damage it does to our cause in perpetrating our mutual quarrels; and that it is therefore better, that it should be abandoned. Now, if I should find you, for the sake of showing how inconsistent I am, running a contrast between my former language in favor of upholding our organization, and my contrary language after abolitionists were no longer and could be no longer at peace with one another, and after the late conclusion against the expediency of continuing the organization; I should think you were perpetrating an injustice on me similar to that which my reputation is now suffering at your hands.

In the three other columns you hold me up, as both urging and disclaiming 'the duty of using the elective franchise.' I have written much for and press on this subject, within the last three years—probably not less than thirty or forty articles. Now I ask you to point to one line in any one of all those articles, where the duty in question is either urged or disclaimed. My language on this subject has been such, as even a 'non-resistant' might consistently use. It has been substantially: 'Let the abolitionists, who vote, see to it, that they vote for no candidates for law-makers, who are not in favor of the repeal of the laws that uphold slavery.' But you will say, that I have disclaimed the duty of voting in a paragraph of my letter to J. C. Hathaway. That paragraph reads as follows:

'Both you and W. R. Smith think it strange that I should be in favor of independent nominations. Let me say yet but little more on the aid of political instrumentalities in a moral enterprise. Why should you? Is it a matter of surprise, that I should be very desirous that those abolitionists, who vote, should vote for abolitionists—about I should attach so little importance to voting, as not even to vote myself? But this, as you know, I think cannot do, excepting under the plan of 'independent nominations.' May it not consist with little or even no faith in the efficacy of the moral reformatory political action, should be deeply desirous to have abolitionists forbear to counteract and nullify their moral station by wrong political action?'

Little did I think, when writing this paragraph, that any reader would view what I said about my not voting, in any other light than that of a supposition for the sake of argument. As it is, I feel that the more easily account for your misapprehension, since the word 'should' must have been omitted in the copy of my letter from which you quoted. Had the copy in your hands read, as it should, and as every copy I have seen does read, 'about I should attach so little, &c.' I should have found it difficult to account for your misapprehension. As it is, I feel that, for the sake of justice, in presenting me as having said: 'about I attach so little importance to voting as not even to vote myself,' you followed your copy; and I will therefore make no complaint of you on this score. But what will my neighbors, who know that I am in the habit of voting, think of my venacity, when they read the detached and unqualified declaration, which you ascribe to my pen?

I infer from your letter, that you suppose, I do not vote. I stand higher in your regards on this point than I deserve. I generally vote. I went to the polls in 1837 and 1838. During the election in 1834, I was in New York and Philadelphia; though it is true, that I had been at home. I was not voted, if indeed I had voted at all, with an increasing reluctance to put men in a situation, where they would be called on to swear to support a Constitution, which sanctions war and slavery. I confide to you, my dear sir, the continuance of my doubts and indecision on the subject of civil government, when they read the detached and unqualified declaration, which you ascribe to my pen.

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most as easy as to add two to three, the solution of the question whether it be right to take human life under any circumstances, seems to require, if not indeed more mind and learning, nevertheless much more leisure, than I possess for investigating abstract questions.

The closing paragraph of your letter goes to my heart. The solemn and tender concern for my supreme interests, which it breathes, touches the springs of my gratitude and love. I am already your debtor for light on various subjects; and happy shall I be, if you contribute as much to lead me into truth on the subjects of peace and civil government, as you did to dispel my errors respecting the Colonization Society. There is, however, one expression in this paragraph, from which, as well as from the tenor of a large share of the letter in which it is found, I infer, that you are laboring under great misapprehension. The expression is, 'your present temper on the subject of politics.' You appear to believe, that I have suddenly come to feel a great interest in the political action of abolitionists; and that I have given up moral suasion for political action. When was I ever derided this belief? Not from any thing I have said or done. You perhaps inconsiderately adopted what our good brother H. C. Wright inconsiderately wrote you about my having made political action the Alpha and the Omega in the anti-slavery enterprise. You have been deceived, too, by the clamor which has been raised about the want of faith, the want of principle, &c. &c. of those, who had come to believe that 'independent nominations' should take the place of the 'interrogation system.' Be assured, that this clamor is groundless; and that they, who have contributed to swell it, and to subject such men as Myron Holley, Beriah Green, and William Goodell to the cruel suspicion of being derided for their political views, have made for themselves work for repentance. Confidently can I say to you, that I have not the least sense of the change you impute to me; nor am I aware, that I have given the least evidence of having undergone it. The probable fact is, that no person in our ranks has, during all the last three years, felt more or acted more on the subject of 'political action' than I have. The only important change on this subject, which I am conscious of having experienced, is that to which I have adverted. It is, that I now beseech abolitionists to vote for none of the candidates of the pro-slavery parties, answer they never so well; whilst formerly I besought them to vote for none of such parties, unless they were satisfied with the candidates for abolition interrogatories. And let me add, that my earnestness now on the point of voting, springs from the same cause as did formerly—viz: a belief, not so much in the utility of right voting, as in the fact, that wrong voting goes very far to neutralize our moral suasion against slavery, and to render it contemptible. Moral suasion and legislation, the one out of the slave and the other from the holy and burning heart of some poor, forgotten, and obscure widow, on whom 'the Lord thinketh.'

You also represent me, as 'eagerly disposed to measure weapons with any man, who presumes to say, that he comes under no obligation to vote at the polls in aid of the slave.' If this be true, then I am 'eagerly disposed to measure weapons with myself; for my own doctrine, distinctly and often laid down, is, that a man 'comes under no obligation to vote at the polls in aid of the slave.' I have been very ready to measure weapons with myself; for my own doctrine, distinctly and often laid down, is, that a man 'comes under no obligation to vote at the polls in aid of the slave.' I have been very ready to measure weapons with myself; for my own doctrine, distinctly and often laid down, is, that a man 'comes under no obligation to vote at the polls in aid of the slave.'

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You say of me: 'You have accused H. C. Wright and J. C. Jackson of having been guilty of dragging non-resistance before the Bloomfield Convention, because they disclaimed the duty of voting.' But, brethren and others, who were at the Convention, have explicitly denied your accusation, and you have retracted it—though not after your usual hearty manner.

It is true, that I did retract my accusation, so far as it concerned J. C. Jackson. I did so, because I introduced into the Bloomfield Convention 'non-resistant' sentiments on the subject of politics. You perhaps think that I did, at the same time, extend my retraction to the case of H. C. Wright. But I did not. Mr. Wright does not deny that he introduced such sentiments—though he claims that he should be in favor of independent nominations. Let me say yet but little more on the aid of political instrumentalities in a moral enterprise. Why should you? Is it a matter of surprise, that I should be very desirous that those abolitionists, who vote, should vote for abolitionists—about I should attach so little importance to voting, as not even to vote myself? But this, as you know, I think cannot do, excepting under the plan of 'independent nominations.' May it not consist with little or even no faith in the efficacy of the moral reformatory political action, should be deeply desirous to have abolitionists forbear to counteract and nullify their moral station by wrong political action?'

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of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and hoping further, that an instrument about whose meaning on several points, abolitionists, the wisest and best of them, too disagree so widely, may be cast aside forever.

Your friend and brother,

GERRIT SMITH.

Annual Meeting of the Abolition Society.

Boston, May 30, 1840.

FRIEND JOHNSON:—In compliance with your request, I give you a brief sketch of the proceedings of the first anniversary meeting of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, which was held, day before yesterday, in the Marlboro' Chapel. The following was the order of Exercises: 1st, Reading of the Scriptures; 2d, Original Hymn; 3d, Prayer; 4th, Hymn by the Choir; 5th, Report of the Executive Committee; 6th, Addresses; 7th, Benediction.

The Report (an abstract) was read by Eliza Wright, the Corresponding Secretary. The addresses were by Rev. Mr. Barnaby, Rev. Joshua Leavitt, Rev. C. W. Dennison, and Rev. Luther Lee. These were all in point of talent. They dealt, however, in common-place views upon common-place topics, and with the exception of Mr. Leavitt's speech, contained more or less unjust remarks and false insinuations intended to be directed by or indirectly against the old organization. The Report spoke of the political inefficiency of the old Society on the ground of non-resistance as the cause of the separation; but stated, nevertheless, with truth, that these 'no-human government men' boast of the political efficiency of their Society, and that they attend meetings and make speeches, and induce their friends to vote only for the slave. The particular injustice of this part of the Report was in conveying indirectly the idea, that the old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society embraces within itself, as a part of itself, the non-resistance views on the question of voting at the polls. This is a resort to which others besides Mr. Wright and the Committee that sanctioned his Report have been before, on various occasions, in their efforts at destroying the old anti-slavery organizations. If these men loved truth purely for its own sake, they would use other weapons than those of truth?

Mr. Barnaby spoke to a resolution, urging the use of our whole influence for the abolition of slavery, 'without regard to considerations of expediency.' Mr. Leavitt spoke of the expediency of the slave power in our national councils. He gave us the substance of a chapter of Jay's View, a very important work, by the way, which should be extensively read by abolitionists. Mr. Dennison made a waking-up kind of speech. His resolution was a general one, calling for efforts for 'immediate and unconditional' freedom for the slave. He spoke of the good and true. He stated that we have the American church with us, and that there is power enough in it, when once aroused, to bring about the abolition of slavery. The latter part of this remark is doubtless true—hence the former part is untrue. If the American church were with us, slavery could not survive a single day. Every nation governed by the Christian religion would put an end to it. Mr. Leavitt spoke, though as good as anything that could be said upon the same subject, was truly ridiculous. He said he was the first man who published the Prospect for the Liberator. 'I took Mr. Garrison by the hand,' he added most truly, 'and suffered with him till I could suffer no longer.' He and others, but I do not recollect the names, 'now the cause is rescued.' The formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was a glorious event; that was a happy day for the cause. He hoped that its publications would be in the hands of all, and that all would read its Constitution. 'I feel,' said he, 'when the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is formed, I feel as if I were united to a great and noble cause, and that I am engaged in promoting very good work. The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will be a faithful ally to the cause of missions, the cause of peace, the cause of temperance, and the cause of the Sabbath. Such were some of Mr. Dennison's contradictions; but in contradictions there is often a meaning. 'He then made the closing speech, the object of which was, to persuade the ladies, to whom it was addressed, to form themselves into Societies separate from the men. He called their attention to the usual words of gallantry, and kept up a constant allusion to their 'appropriate sphere.' He said they were to be in their appropriate sphere, as pointed out 'by God, by the Bible, and by the usage of the civilized world; that they could do out of it. Yet he urged the women very strongly and very properly to put forth strenuous efforts in behalf of the slave. 'Men and women were destined to act in different spheres, but it does not follow that women were to be silent in the sphere of their duty. The speech contained a sort of summing up of the views which the speaker had dwelt upon through the whole. I have preserved it word for word, as it was uttered. 'Give me the nerve of man to stir and put in motion the pulsations of woman's heart, and I will conquer the world.'

The respectable number in numbers, though not large, considering the extensive notice that was given of the meeting. A meeting for business was notified to be held immediately after the adjournment. The agents, the officers, the women, and the friends of the Society were invited to remain, while all others, as Mr. St. Clair very distinctly stated, were to be considered as dismissed. Mr. Phelps, however, if I rightly understood him, said that those not invited could stay if they wished.

J. P. BISHOP.

What will they do in Heaven?—In looking over your paper of the 22d ult., I found recorded the reasons why certain clergymen and professors of religion wished to secede from the American Anti-Slavery Society—their consciences would not suffer them to associate with women! While pondering these things in my heart, the following reflections arose in my mind, which I would like to record for the perusal of all who, like good old Bunyan, I am disposed to put in black and white.

These followers of Christ cannot do his will by laboring in this holy cause, in this society, because women are here, doing the same work in the same way, holding the same arguments, and being allowed to speak in presence of men, suggesting improvements themselves as occur to their minds, instead of acting in a separate apartment. Under these circumstances, what shall be done? They must secede and form a new society under a new name. But suppose these good christian brethren should long be taken from this society to those blessed islands, where they would be engaged for all who love him; and suppose that on arriving there, and looking round, they should find some one or more of those good sisters, whose hearts while on earth had been filled with love and zeal for God's work, here, doing the same work in the same way, holding the same arguments, and being allowed to speak in presence of men, suggesting improvements themselves as occur to their minds, instead of acting in a separate apartment. Under these circumstances, what shall be done? They must secede and form a new society under a new name. 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β	β_0	β_1
0.00	0.00	0.00
0.05	0.05	0.05
0.10	0.10	0.10
0.15	0.15	0.15
0.20	0.20	0.20
0.25	0.25	0.25
0.30	0.30	0.30
0.35	0.35	0.35
0.40	0.40	0.40
0.45	0.45	0.45
0.50	0.50	0.50
0.55	0.55	0.55
0.60	0.60	0.60
0.65	0.65	0.65
0.70	0.70	0.70
0.75	0.75	0.75
0.80	0.80	0.80
0.85	0.85	0.85
0.90	0.90	0.90
0.95	0.95	0.95
1.00	1.00	1.00

